Foreign Broadcast Information Service 50 ANNIVERSARY 1941 - 1991

Daily Report

Supplement

Near East & South Asia

IRAN:
Effects of the Islamic Revolution on Pakistani Shi'as

FBIS-NES-91-159-S
Friday
16 August 1991

Near East & South Asia
SUPPLEMENT
IRAN:
Effects of the Islamic Revolution on Pakistani Shi'as

FBIS-NES-91-159-S *16 August 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

* Effects of the Islamic Revolution on Pakistani Shi'as *[KEYHAN 13, 15, 16 Jun]* 1

* Effects of the Islamic Revolution on Pakistani Shi'as

91AS1284A Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13, 15, 16 Jun 91

[A KEYHAN Feature Service three-part series written by Hamid Tavakkoli-Kermani]

[13 Jun 91 p 6]

[Text]

Note

The compilation before you titled "Effects of the Islamic Revolution on Pakistani Shi'as" attempts to explain the situation of the Shi'as in that country. In so doing it presents a view of the different existing groups and what each one has done. It also discusses the economic circumstances of the people and gives each group's motivation. This piece is divided into four parts [three parts were published] to be presented to you in several installments. We now present Part I.

Part I

Preface

The study and analysis of the reflection of the Islamic revolution of Iran on each level of the world community requires, before anything else, a reexamination of revolutionary aspirations as the elements of that reflection. In reality, these elements are the criteria and benchmarks used to measure the extent of the export and transfer of the concepts and values of the Islamic revolution to points beyond the revolution's origins.

The aspirations of the Islamic revolution, which are inspired by the culture and high doctrines of Islam and the Koran, are crystalized and realized in the words and actions of Imam Khomeyni (may God have mercy upon him). These aspirations, which are seen as the cornerstones of action and strategy for the world revolution of Islam, are listed below:

1. Knowledge of Divine Being and steadfastness in His Path (the doctrine of gnosis).

2. Continued struggle with the idolaters and Satans until the deprived and oppressed nations throughout the world are liberated.

3. Destruction of oppressive governments and the placement of the people's destiny in their own hands.

4. Active and extensive participation of all the elements of society in the community's transformation process.

5. The training of human beings based on the exalted and world-encompassing values of Islam.

6. Culture reforms.

7. Rejection of economic monopoly.

8. Destruction of false doctrines.

9. The formation of a unified world community.

10. The establishment of peace and tranquility among nations.

11. Export of the Islamic revolution.

As a fitting conclusion to this section, we present a selection from the words of the Imam (may God have mercy upon him) concerning the export of the Islamic revolution, which is given as one of the exalted aspirations of the Islamic revolution:

"We want all the Islamic nations to possess these features [of the Islamic revolution], we want this atmosphere that has been realized in Iran to exist in all the Islamic nations, we want this revolution to be exported, we want all the Islamic nations and all the oppressed people of the world to stand against the oppressors, take control of their own affairs and seize their rights, and they must realize that they must take possession of their rights, for they will not be granted. (S/20/1359 [11 August 1980])

As we continue the discussion, we will outline the general situation of the Shi'as and discuss the effects of the Islamic revolution on the society of Shi'as in Pakistan based on a comparison of the situation of this society before and after the Islamic revolution in various areas, and we hope that it will be generally adequate and sufficient for the purpose.

General Status of Shi'as in Pakistan

With an area of 796,095 square km and a population of almost 140 [as published] million[1] (according to the 1987 census), Pakistan is located in south Asia, and it has a special and strategic position on the regional and world geopolitical map as a neighbor with Iran, China, India, and Afghanistan with shores on the Sea of Oman, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Until 1947 (the year of independence) Pakistan was part of the Indian subcontinent, and its name is derived from the fact that the Muslim majority of this nation considers itself pure [pak], unlike the Hindus.

The population of Pakistan is 97 percent Muslim (with a Sunni majority) and the remaining 3 percent includes Hindus, Christians, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, and Qadianis [known in Pakistan as Ahmadis]. It is estimated that 25 percent of the Muslims of Pakistan are Shi'as.

The important population and religious centers of Shi'as in Pakistan are the following:

The city of Quetta, which is the capital of the Province of Balochistan, which also shares a common border with Iran's Province of Sistan va Balochistan, is concidered an important Shi'a population center in Pakistan. The Shi'as in this city belong to several sects, including the

Hazara, the Bangash, the Tabat, the Golgat, the Punjab, the Karam, and others, of which the Hazara are the most powerful and populous.

Another important Shi'a population center is at the Pakistani-Chinese border and the Baltistan and Gilgit areas. There are many seminarians and clerics in these two areas, most of whom have studied in noble Najaf.

Likewise, most of the residents of the cities of Bakhar and Jhang (in the Province of Punjab), Parachinar, Bangashi, Mir, Ismail Khan, Urukez'i, and Karm Ijani in the Frontier Province, and in Rurjamian Multan are Shi'as.

The most famous Shi'a religious centers are the Jami'at-ol-Montazer, the Hashemiyeh School, and the Hojjat-ol-Qa'em School (a religious school for women) in Lahore, the Jami'a Ahl-ol-Beyt at Islamabad, and the Shahid 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni School in Peshawar. At this school, in addition to traditional religious sciences, new sciences such as economics, political science, and psychology are also taught. Other centers include the Mo'men School; the Ayatollah al-Hakim School in Rawalpindi, which is now managed under the supervision of 'Allameh Sajed 'Ali Taqavi, leader of the Shi'as of Pakistan and supervisor of the Movement for Implementing Ja'fari Religious Jurisprudence [Ja'far ibn Mohammad, also called al-Sadiq, was the sixth of the Twelve Imams and was celebrated for his thorough knowledge of Tradition. In Pakistan, this movement is called Tehrik-i Nifaz-i Fiqh-i Jafria (TNFJ)]; the Mashare' ol-'Olum School in Hyderabad, the Imam Khomeyni School in Punjab, the Ja'fariyeh School in Gujaranava in the Province of Punjab, the Imam Sadeq School[2] and the Dar-ol-Ilm-e Ja'fari in Quetta, the Jami'at-ol-Mo'ttaqin in the city of Multan, the Ja'fariyeh Seminary School (the largest seminary in the Province of Sind), the Imam Reza (peace be upon him) School in Teksila (35 km from Rawalpindi), and Beyt ol-Mahdi in the Province of Balochistan.

The lesson material at these seminaries is mostly derived from the courses at Iran's seminaries, and their teachers are graduates of Najaf, Qom, Mashhad, and Pakistan itself.

Shi'a history in the years before 1979 (the year of the triumph of the Islamic revolution in Iran) can be divided into two periods: (1) The period before the independence of Pakistan and (2) the period after the formation of Pakistan (after 1947).

Although Pakistan is known as a Sunni country, the Shi'as there, who are considered the largest religious minority, have played and continue to play a fundamental and sensitive role in preserving this nation's independence and political stability[3].

The history of the subcontinent shows that before the independence of Pakistan, the Shi'as, despite the many malfunctions and problems due to the fact that they were ignored and their rights were trampled by the governments of that time, had to some extent institutions and organizations.

The oldest Shi'a organization is the Al-e Ayineh or Shi'a Conference, whose headquarters is in the city of Lucknow, India. The main goal of these organization is to unify Shi'as throughout old India and defend their rights. Later, members of this organization carried out significant activities fighting for the independence and freedom of Pakistan.

This organization gradually expanded its operations to the Province of Punjab, and in that province, for the first time a group was formed called the "Punjab Shi'a Conference" under the supervision of people like Raja Ghazanfar Khan (the first Pakistani ambassador to Iran).

This group gradually expanded and after 1945 it expanded its operations as the Pakistan Shi'a Conference (the national conference of Pakistani Shi'as). This organization lacked the characteristics of a diligent and genuine movement to alleviate the problems of the oppressed Shi'a masses, because its leaders were mostly drawn from those affiliated with the governments of the time and opportunist capitalists, who were seeking to advance themselves and preserve their positions and rank.

A significant point is that the leaders of this organization were mostly mercenaries of the Pahlavi regime, and they actively prosel;tized for the shah in Pakistan.

The office to preserve Shi'a rights (Shi'a Rights Protection Organization) was the second major and old Shi'a organization, which was formed for the first time in Lahore. After that, one or two other major groups called the Committee for Shi'a Demands, which was formed by Seyyed Mohammad Dehlavi in 1960 and the Shi'a Political Party, which came into existence on 13 October 1969 in the midst of the struggle between the Shi'as and the government of the time (the government of General Ayyub Khan) over the rights of Shi'as.

The three most important needs motivating the appearance of Shi'a groups are summarized as follows:

1 - The authorization to teach Shi'a religious texts in elementary and secondary schools for Shi'a students.

2 - Separation of Shi'a endowments from Sunni, and their administration by the Shi'as.

3 - Shi'a freedom to conduct mourning rites in the month of Moharram.

On this basis, almost all the Shi'a organizations were formed based on a strategy of fighting for the rights of the Shi'a nation, and in the framework of the three general principles given above.

Among the above organizations, apart from some leaders such as Seyyed Mohammad Dehlavi and several others,

the rest sought in some way to serve their own desires and interests, and for this reason they leaned towards the government leaders and big capitalists, which played a major role in weakening the position of the Shi'as, and caused the roots of ethical, political, and social deviation to grow among the Shi'as.

Along with this problem is the unfortunate reality that for many years the Shi'as of Pakistan lived in ignorance and illogical prejudice, so that religion and religious practice were restricted to preserving the tradition of mourning for the Prince of Martyrs (peace be upon him) [Imam Huseyn] in the most extreme way, and some other minor issues. They regarded other issues as secondary, and paid no attention to the basic principles and necessities of Islamic society and the realities pertaining to it. Even if there had been a possibility that some Shi'as would have volunteered to take part in national affairs, they would have been immediately rejected by the major Shi'a figures and consequently by the masses of Shi'as. An example of this situation is the protest by a group of Pakistani Muslim students against the trip by the [late] Shah of Iran to Pakistan. That protest was criticized and reproached by the [Shi'a] community's influential leaders.

Currently there are more than 100 large and small parties and political and religious societies active in Pakistan, among which the number of prominent Shi'a political parties can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The most important Shi'a groups, which are now in charge of the Shi'a seminaries and religious centers in Pakistan and also guide the political and religious movements of the Pakistani Shi'as, are: TNFJ (the 'Allameh Sajed 'Ali Taqavi group), TNFJ (the Hamed 'Alishah Musavi Group), the Faq ol-Ulama-e Shi'a, the Imamiyeh Organization, and the Imamiyeh Student Organization (ISO).

In economic terms, overall the Shi'as are not in favorable circumstances, and poverty and indigence dominate most of their lives. In addition to the lack of awareness and literacy, the bad economic situation creates conditions permitting the Wahabis affiliated with the Saudi regime to attract them by establishing religious schools, mosques, publishing institutions, carrying out development operations, and creating political and paramilitary organizations. Apart from the Saudis, the Americans and the Soviets have invested, and are investing, in Shi'a youth by giving them scholarships and accepting them in their schools. The Afghanistan regime has also made huge investments, especially in the Muslims, in the Parachinar, and the Turi tribes, in order to profit in its own interest in the future.

[15 Jun 91 p 15]

[Text]

Note

In the previous issue, various kinds of groups existing in Pakistan as well as the motives and operations of each were detailed. Now, this part discusses the relationship between Iran and Pakistan as two countries and the effects of the Islamic revolution of Iran on the Pakistani Shi'as.

Part II

Converging Factors Between Iran and Pakistan

Strong ties exist between Iran and Pakistan due to the many points in common and their extensive historical, geographical*, social, cultural, religious, and political relations.

The cultural and political relations between the two countries go back to the Achaemenian period and the religious and linguistic ties to early Islam.

In the Indian subcontinent since the beginning of the 5th to the end of the 13th centuries (about 9 centuries), Persian was the official language of the country and the literary and cultural world of the Muslims in this vast region. As a result, in the course of this long period, books on religious jurisprudence, interpretation, philosophy, Sufism, theology, medicine, astronomy, history, biography, poetry, and literature were all written in Persian. These valuable works are the great legacy of the Muslims in the subcontinent, especially Pakistan, and studying them is necessary to understanding the history and national culture of that country.

The Persian Department of Punjab University was established in 1870 in the Oriental College. Since that time, in its 120-year history, it has taught Persian language and literature up to the master's degree level. Another important point is that a large number of manuscripts that are available in Iran were brought from the subcontinent, and a significant number of dictionaries and books of grammar, such as the *Jahangiri Dictionary*, *Borhan-e Qate'*, and the *Rashidi Dictionary* and... were prepared by the notables of the subcontinent.

In the past one or two centuries, as a result of the domination of England over the subcontinent and the colonialist conspiracies, the English language has gradually replaced Persian. Of course, Urdu, which is a mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turkish,and Hindi, is made up of about 50 percent Persian.

At the present time, Persian courses that at one time were required courses in the Pakistani colleges have become electives.

The son of 'Allameh Mohammad Iqbal Lahuri (Mosavvar in Pakistan), who was previously the head of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, said in an interview on 23/9/1369 [14 December 1990. This should be the date Iqbal's opinion was published in Mosavvar publication]: "Since Persian was an official language of the people of the subcontinent for about 800 years, and the people of

Pakistan also spoke this language and are interested in it, the Government of Pakistan must once again revitalize this language and make the teaching of it in schools mandatory."[5]

Another important factor in the convergence of the two nations of Iran and Pakistan is culture. Close, strong ties between the two neighboring countries have existed for a long time and have had an important influence in advancing the culture and civilization of both regions. These mutual ties have been perpetuated through cultural exchanges which began in ancient times, an example of which is the valuable book *Kaleelah and Demneh* that was brought to Iran before Islam from ancient India.

After Islam, cultural exchanges between the two regions reached a new height, to the point that at times it was felt that a single culture and civilization governed both regions.[6] The press attache of the Pakistani Embassy in Tehran wrote recently in an article: " 'Allameh Iqbal has had a profound influence on Muslim thinkers, particularly among the Iranian thinkers of the past several decades. Iqbal has influenced all those who wanted to return to Islam and the Koran, but his influence is mostly manifested in the works of 'Ali Shari'ati. It seems that Iqbal had permeated Shari'ati's being, and Dr. Shari'ati considered himself an outcome of the Iqbal movement. Dr. Shari'ati considered Iqbal an excellent and distinguished example of the ideal Muslim. In his book, *We and Iqbal*, he speaks about the various aspects of Iqbal's personality and ultimately presents him as an 'Ali-like [the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammad] human being, because he was not only a man of politics, but also a man of gnosis, a man of poetry and literature and a man of philosophy and science."[7]

Although the people of the subcontinent saw the military and political power of Islam in the faces of Arab and Turkish conquerors, such as Mohammad ibn Qasem and Mahmud Ghaznavi..., but Iranians showed them the cultural and spiritual manifestations of this pure religion. Most of the propagators of Islam and disseminators of Islamic culture in that land were Iranian, of Iranian lineage or trained by Iranians and followed their tradition and path.

Religion is another converging factor that has had a strong influence in strengthening and expanding the ties.[8] While the absolute majority of the population of both countries are Muslims, there are special interests and ties among the Shi'as of Pakistan, who are considered the most sensitive religious group in that country, and the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is considered a Shi'a country, mostly because of their common bond of Ashura [reference to the martyrdom of Imam Hoseyn, the grandson of Prophet Mohammad] and their love for the guardianship of 'Ali ibn Abu Taleb and his infallible descendants. This factor has had a great influence in transferring, expanding, propagating, and developing the Islamic revolution in Pakistan.

In any case, the two nations of Iran and Pakistan enjoy profound and constructive historical, cultural, and religious commonalities, with effective interests and cooperation, and have been at each other's side with a spirit of understanding and with such friendly relations that the borders between the two countries have been recognized as borders of peace and friendship.

The vast dimensions of the ties between the two nations and their joint interests have brought their destiny so close to one another that one cannot imagine anything else for the future except increased expansion and a deepening of relations.[9]

It must not go unsaid that Iran was the first country to recognize Pakistan's independence, and Pakistan was also the first country to recognize the Islamic revolution of Iran.

The Islamic Revolution and Change in the Shi'a Community of Pakistan

With the victory of the Islamic revolution in Bahman 1357 [21 January-19 February 1979], undoubtedly it was impossible for the Muslim people of Pakistan, who have had extensive historical, geographical, religious, and cultural relations with Iran, to remain outside the sphere of influence of the roaring waves of the Islamic revolution of Iran. In addition to the influence of the revolution being greater in Pakistan, what was predictable to some extent was the greater effect it had on the Shi'as compared to the followers of other religious sects in that country as a result of the brilliant rays generated by the Islamic movement in Iran.

Under Pakistan's military government of General Zia-ul-Haq, and for a long time lacking the attention of the governments of the time concerning their rights, as well as lacking coordination between the Shi'as themselves and their disunity, the Shi'as lived a desperate life. The emergence of the Islamic revolution in Iran was a starting point for the Shi'as to rediscover their path. The liberating message of the Islamic revolution, which was mentioned in the preface as a theoretical framework of the discussion, brought enthusiasm to the Shi'as, and more than ever before they felt the need to unite to achieve their trampled rights.

After much consultation, the leaders and elders of the Shi'as took the opportunity to fashion a general society whose goal was to confront the abnormal situation in the government and prepare a charter for the future movements of the Shi'as. On this basis, 24 Farvardin 1358 (12 April 1979), was announced as the day of the assembly of the Shi'as throughout Pakistan in the city of Behkar (located in the Province of Punjab, most of the residents of which are Shi'as).

On that date, a large number of Shi'as gathered in the place announced. In this gathering, which continued for two days, two basic issues were seriously discussed and ratified. The first issue was the appointment of a leader and the second was the establishment of a party or

organization that could implement the established goals regularly and in an organized manner.

It is worthy of note that the enthusiasm and the spiritual power governing this assembly were fully under the influence of the Islamic revolution of Iran. The spiritual leaders were in front of the masses, and the people followed them. In this great gathering, an organization was founded called the "TNFJ," and 'Allameh Mofti Ja'far Hoseyn[10] was chosen as the first leader of this organization.

In the closing session of this gathering, a resolution was ratified whose main points were as follows:

1. If the government (of Zia-ul-Haq) wants to establish the Islamic regime in the country, it must not view the role of the Shi'as as unimportant in such a regime and ignore the Shi'a nation. The government must observe the rights of Shi'as in national laws.[11]

2. Because of the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, we congratulate Imam Khomeyni and the noble, revolutionary people of Iran and on behalf of the entire Pakistani nation invite the Imam of the people to visit our country and united recognize him as the leader of all Muslims.

Following this event, the Shi'as of Pakistan in 1980 undertook an action that attracted world attention: The Shi'as of Pakistan surrounded the prime minister's building in Islamabad (the capital of Pakistan) and stated their demands. At the end of this siege, which lasted three days, the military government accepted the demands of the Shi'as. This action by the Shi'as was considered their most forceful undertaking since the establishment of Pakistan and was led by the late Hojjat ol-Eslam Mofti Ja'far Hoseyn, the leader of TNFJ.

Undoubtedly, and as an offspring of the Islamic revolution and one of the strong organizational pillars of Shi'as, since the victory of the Islamic revolution TNFJ has rendered significant services to the people of Pakistan in propagating the programs and goals of the revolution, since undoubtedly their implementation at this vast level was beyond the ability of the cultural and political representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Pakistan. In another section of this discussion, given the importance of the issue, we shall explain separately the positions and operations of the above movement since its establishment.

As for the changes that occurred due to the Islamic revolution and the Shi'as of Pakistan in particular and the Pakistani nation in general, they are as follows:

1. Raising the intellectual level and political vision among the young Shi'a generation, which is profoundly different from the situation before the Islamic revolution. Realizing, even though imperfectly, the radiant values of the Islamic revolution, the young Shi'as have been more acquiescent to understand religious issues and to grow as individuals and as a community. The Pakistani nation, especially the Shi'as, have learned the meaning of such values as self-sacrifice, strife for freedom and independence, the principle of Velayat [guardianship of the jurisprudent], martyrdom, not submitting to oppression, fighting passion and many other values in larger dimensions and their true meaning from the behavior and actions of the revolutionary Muslim people of Iran.[12]

2. The victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran was undoubtedly one of the main reasons for the Shi'a groups becoming more organized and for the appearance of TNFJ, with the great gathering in Behkar. As a result of such a great movement, the Shi'a clerics of Pakistan became alert and realized that in the framework of a strong, popular, religious organization they would be better able to achieve their goals.

3. The Islamic revolution of Iran made the people of Pakistan, particularly the Shi'as, realize the necessity of following the revolutionary clerics. Before the victory of the revolution, there was no positive image of the Shi'as in the society, and also the clerics did not know their status and were unable to show the correct and uncompromising ways to the people. Hence, the Islamic revolution has had an indescribable effect on making the clerics find the way and on the inclination of the people towards them.

4. Before the Islamic revolution, the Shi'a clerics in Pakistan were devoid of a revolutionary vision in politics and religion. The clerics woke up due to the revolution and made an effort to learn and propagate the authentic Islamic culture and become involved in political issues.

5. Noting the preservation of Islamic standards and divine instructions in a more rational form than before was another valuable effect of the Islamic revolution.

The majority of Shi'as in Pakistan before the victory of the Islamic revolution did not pay much attention to the necessity of emulating the sources of emulation, and if the claim is made that there existed among older Shi'as those who did not know the religious laws or even the most basic religious obligations, it would be no exaggeration. Also, concerning the execution of religious ceremonies, unfortunately, until the victory of the revolution these ceremonies were carried out in the most extreme and incorrect form possible. Nevertheless, after the victory of the revolution, the carrying out of such ceremonies has become more proper compared to the past.

6. Strengthening the spirit of commiseration with the Islamic world and supporting the liberation movements in the world against the oppression and injustice of the puppet rulers and global oppression is another significant effect of the Islamic revolution of Iran on the Shi'as of Pakistan, which is significantly different from before the revolution.

[16 Jun p 6]

[Text]

Note

In the two previous installments of this discussion, issues were presented such as the existing groups in Pakistan, the motivations and accomplishments of each one, and also a general discussion of the effects of the Iranian revolution on the Shi'as of Pakistan. In this issue the author explains the reasons for these effects and finally presents the conclusions.

Part III

In this installment, to complete the discussion concerning the effects, it is necessary to explain further the fate of TNFJ after the death of Mufti Ja'far Hoseyn, the movement's first leader, because henceforth the effects of the revolution will take place more quickly, and this is mainly due to the leadership of the learned martyr 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni, who is the chosen successor to Mufti Ja'far Hoseyn.

On 7 Shahrivar 1362 [29 August 1983], Mufti Ja'far Hoseyn died of old age and illness. There was a delay of more than a year and five months between the time of his death and the election of the new leader. In this interval someone named Seyyed Hamed 'Alishah Musavi, who had attracted the attention and support of the government of the time and the naive clergy, became a candidate to become the new leader of the Shi'as of Pakistan and TNFJ, and the government media as well as the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad produced much propaganda on his behalf.

On the same day when it was to be announced in the city of Dineh that he was the new leader of TNFJ, the movement's supreme council met in the city of Bakhar and by unanimous vote 'Alameh Seyyed 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni[13] was chosen as the leader of the Shi'a nation and chief of the movement (11/ 21/1363 [10 January 1985]).

From this point on TNFJ was divided into two groups: one group led by 'Alameh Seyyed 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni, and the other group led by Seyyed Hamed 'Alishah Musavi[14].

'Alameh Seyyed 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni, who had met His Holiness the Imam in Noble Najaf and had received much learning and moral training in His Excellency's presence, announced in his first proclamation after his election as leader: O Shi'as, young and old! Awaken, for God's sake, and cut off the hands of the plotter, those hands that have so easily made us disagree and separated us from each other to trample our rights, by sowing discord and creating ideological conflict. In our doctrine there is no ideological conflict: it is only the imperialists, with their special policies, who aggravate these problems, and after their disgraceful defeats in Iran, Lebanon and other nations, now they want to go after your dear country, and it will only be possible to confront these plots through unity. Be assured that there is a great international plot against the Muslims, and especially the Shi'as. Today conditions in Iran and Lebanon have made us aware of new responsibilities. Your brothers in these nations have brought the superpowers to their knees.

After his election as leader of the Shi'as of Pakistan, 'Alameh Seyyed 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni, inspired by the Islamic revolution of Iran and its leader, reorganized TNFJ, and expanded its sphere of operations within the country. A valuable step that he took early in his tenure was to change some of the articles in the movement's charter, some of which are given below, confirming the effects of the Islamic revolution:

1. The practical realization of unity between all Islamic groups.

2. The elimination of ethnic, linguistic, religious, and regional prejudice throughout the nation.

3. The declaration of holy war against world imperialism.

4. An uprising against economic imperialism and the establishment of an Islamic economic system.

5. An uprising to achieve a world Islamic revolution.

6. Aid to the extent possible to the oppressed and deprived throughout the world.

On this basis, a movement whose hopes heretofore had been restricted to exempting the Shi'a nation from the mandatory charitable contributions and tithes that had been set by the government of Zia ol-Haq, the free exercise of religious practice, the separation of Shi'a endowments, and other such issues, stepped into a broader arena in which world Islamic objectives and the salvation of the oppressed people of the world are sought.

'Alameh 'Aref Hoseyni said: "Our slogan is not limited to Pakistan. Wherever there is oppression, whether it be Saddam, the leaders of the superpowers or their agents, we all shout against them and in the interest of the oppressed. Instead of thinking of the rights of our own special group, we think of the problems of all Muslims.

"The acceptance of the Imam's leadership in the Islamic world is a necessity.

"If Muslims gather under the Imam's leadership (may God perpetuate his sheltering protection), we will then see that the problems in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Palestine, and other places will be solved.

"We believe that today the Islamic Republic of Iran is the center of the Islamic world and, in the words of a member of a Pakistani political party, before the Islamic revolution of Iran the models for Islamic movements were the Muslim brotherhood and the Islamic societies, but after the triumph of the Islamic revolution of Iran,

the Islamic revolution of Iran was the sole and only model and criterion for Islamic movements in the world.

"The Islamic Republic of Iran is the heart of the Muslim world and its revolution is an Islamic revolution, not an Iranian revolution and not a Shi'a revolution.

"We warn America that if an airbase in Pakistan is used against the Islamic Republic of Iran, the people of Pakistan will give them no rest. We warn the nation's leaders that if they carry out such a mistaken measure and if they give such authorization to America, they must know that the Muslim people of Pakistan will take away their power and humiliate and destroy them."

To achieve the goals of the movement, on 15 Tir 1365 [8 July 1986] at a meeting of several thousand Shi'as in Lahore, for the first time 'Alameh 'Aref Hoseyni issued the movement's political-religious charter, and he said that after this the movement will be a political and religious party instead of solely a religious organization. Thus, inspired by the Islamic revolution of Iran, 'Alameh 'Aref Hoseyni said: "Our politics are the same as our religion, and our religion is the same as our politics." Writers of falsehoods, employing imperialist thinking, have emphasized the separation of religion from politics. In a speech on this subject, he announced: "I want to say that since our party, our organization is a religious organization in every sense and the principle is also religious, and since there is the general principle that politics are also part of religion, we consider politics the same as religion. Therefore, based on this same idea, we have issued our charter."

Let it not go unsaid that at the 15 Tir 1365 Lahore meeting, 'Alameh 'Aref al-Hoseyni announced that TNFJ will participate in the coming elections for the first time as a political and religious party.

Based on a general study of the positions and views of Martyr 'Aref Hoseyni, one can clearly see the reflections of the Islamic revolution in almost all of his views. As the most prominent example and model of the effects of the Islamic revolution on the Shi'as of Pakistan and the most prominent exponent and promoter of the Islamic revolution in Pakistan, he was finally martyred by one of the Zia al-Haq Regime's mercenaries early Friday morning 5/14/1367 [5 August 1988] (10 months before the death of his mentor Imam Khomeyni).

The day after he was martyred, his son 'Ali said at his funeral service: "It is true that I am now bereaved by the loss of my esteemed father, but I am not worried, because Khomeyni is alive and as long as Khomeyni is among us, neither I nor the nation of Pakistan will feel orphaned." As can be seen, embedded in these few words are high and splendid indications of firm commitment to and understanding of the Islamic revolution.

The Imam, (may he be blessed in God's paradise), sent a telegram of congratulations and condolences to the nation and clergy of Pakistan, observing the martyrdom of 'Alameh 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni. It said: "... We have never seen a single court [agent of government] clergyman or a Wahabi clergyman stand up against oppression, polytheism, and infidelity, especially against the aggressor Soviets and world-devouring America. Similarly, we have never seen a clergyman so imbued with love of service to God and the people that he never allowed a moment to go by without helping the indigent and who never stopped the struggle against infidelity and polytheism until he reached the object of his love. 'Aref Hoseyni was such a person."

Forty days after the martyrdom of 'Alameh 'Aref Hoseyni, and in accordance with the movement's charter, officials of TNFJ gathered at the site of his martyrdom and elected 'Alameh Seyyad Sajed 'Ali Taqavi as leader of the Shi'as of Pakistan and as the new supervisor of TNFJ.

It is clearly one of the most sincere and toiling movements that has made a significant effort to present the true face of the revolution even to the most remote parts of Pakistan, and that has endured much hardship and difficulty in so doing. Without any expectations, the young members are especially still trying as ever to promote the Islamic revolution. These same "Tehrik" [instigating] youth[15] and other sincere Shi'a groups, such as Imamia Students Organization[16], which in many cases, as it has already been mentioned, are much more active than the forces sent by the Islamic Republic of Iran, and have played a major role in mobilizing the people. These activities include distributing revolutionary leaflets and pamphlets, carrying out marches in sensitive places, holding seminars, talks and meetings especially to commemorate the anniversary of the triumph of the Islamic revolution of Iran, commemorating the Day of Quds [Jerusalem] and Unity Week and expressing anger and contempt for the plots of America and the Wahabis in the area, which has usually meant suffering beatings and oppression by the police, the extremists, and the Wahabis.

The events in the past year or two in the City of Jhang in the Province of Punjab combined with the steadfastness and resistance of the friends of TNFJ and the Shi'as sincerely following the Imam (peace be upon him) and the Islamic revolution against the plots of the opponents of the Islamic Republic of Iran, such as the Wahabi Anjuman Sipahe Sahaba, which is supported by the Saudi family's regime, are examples of the commitment and strength inspired by the Islamic revolution of Iran.

Another prominent manifestation of the effects of the Islamic revolution on the Shi'as of Pakistan in particular and the people of Pakistan in general is the establishment of public interest cultural, academic, religious, and social foundations with the purpose and intention of promoting and spreading the Islamic revolution in Pakistan, as well as strengthening cultural relations in the country.

After the triumph of the Islamic revolution in Iran, a committee called the Imam Khomeyni Committee was

formed in Lahore, whose members were mostly youths and students. Its goal was to carry out propaganda in favor of the Islamic revolution and to thwart negative propaganda against the Islamic revolution.

Another instance is the creation of an institute called the Imam Khomeyni Charity and Educational Institute in Aban 1368 [23 October-21 November 1989] in the City of Lahore, which was established by a group of contributors, university professors, and culturally prominent Shi'as and Sunnis. This institute announced as its main objective the propagation of the policies and thoughts of the great leader of the world Islamic revolution, His Holiness the Imam (may his soul be sanctified). In the middle of the month of Aban 1368, the general secretary of this institute, a Shi'a (Seyyed Mohammad 'Ali Zeydi) said in an interview: Observing the commands of His Holiness Imam Khomeyni, our institute has given top priority in its programs to creating educational centers, religious schools, libraries, pharmacies and free treatment centers in remote areas, and creating educational facilities for women.

He added: The Imam Khomeyni Charity and Educational Institute's first step was to hold meetings aimed at making known as much as possible the personality of that great man, and at publishing his works and ideas to the farthest corners of Pakistan and India.[17]

Another instance is the establishment of the Iqbal-Shari'ati Cultural Center in the month of Mehr 1368 [23 September-22 October 1989] by a number of Lahore scholars and educators, and whose members include a group of Pakistani newspaper writers, students, and educators who are interested in spreading the revolutionary ideas of 'Allameh Iqbal Lahuri and Dr. 'Ali Shari'ati.

This institute's activities include the printing of the works of Dr. Shari'ati in Urdu, holding cultural and literary seminars, and holding rites observing the anniversaries of Iqbal and Shari'ati.

An official of this institute said in an interview with IRNA on 9/20/1368 [11 December 1989]: This institute emphasizes victory for the path of His Holiness Imam Khomeyni, and it will seek to make his objectives endure.[18]

A geographic feature of the effects of the Islamic revolution is that the northern parts of Pakistan which share borders with India, China, and Afghanistan, are the primary area of residence for Shi'a Muslims supporting the Islamic revolution. In these areas, the residents of Free Kashmir, Baltistan and Gilgit are fervent believers and supporters of the Islamic revolution of Iran. The influence of the Islamic revolution in these areas is mostly the result of the qualities and characteristics of the revolution and the virgin territory and the easily influenced, God-seeking people of that region. In other words, the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran did not play that much of a role in introducing the Islamic revolution there. For example, after the triumph of the Islamic revolution and despite the opposition of the local police, the name of the main street in Skardu (the center of Baltistan) was changed to Imam Khomeyni Street.[19]

A Baltistan Shi'a clergyman said: "Most of the people in this area have changed since the Islamic revolution of Iran, meaning that a people who had no interest in hearing the news about developments in the world now listen eagerly to the VOICE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, which broadcasts in Urdu and is difficult to hear." He added: "Now the homes and mosques on most streets are decorated with photos of Imam Khomeyni."[20]

Conclusion

In view of the many similar inclinations between Iran and Pakistan and especially the Shi'as of that nation, which has an extremely wide and broad area, there is room for more activity than before to advance the goals of the Islamic revolution and achieve the great mission of exporting the Islamic revolution and spreading its reflection and effects throughout Pakistan, with the special favor of the Shi'as of that nation. The Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Ministry can be more active at the political level, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance and the Islamic Propaganda Organization at the cultural and propaganda levels, and the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education and the Ministry of Education and Training at the educational and research levels. This will be possible to achieve through increased exchanges of university and seminary professors and students, the printing of various publications in Persian, holding academic and research seminars and congresses, exchanging films and books, giving financial assistance to Pakistan's academic and literary centers where Persian is taught, the exchange of educational groups, and travel and exchanges of visits by writers, lawyers, poets, and artists, as well as more exchanges of visits by political and economic groups. It is clear that in this interaction the Shi'as of Pakistan, in addition to being influenced, have a key role to play in exerting an influence and exporting and promoting the values of the Islamic revolution in the Islamic society of Pakistan.

Footnotes

1. The area of Pakistan is less than one-half the area of Iran and its population is about twice that of Iran.

2. The Imam Sadeq School was built in Quetta in 1358 [21 March 1979-20 March 1980] by order of His Holiness the Imam [Khomeyni] (peace be upon him), and now about 60 students are studying religious sciences there (up to the Sath level) [a Seminary educational level], and they are sent to Qom Seminary to continue their studies (IRNA, 11/7/1368 [27 January 1990]).

3. A great testimony to this claim is the fact that Mohammad 'Ali Jenah, the founder of Pakistan, was Shi'a.

4. Pakistan has in its southwest 805 km of border in common with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

5. A. Malek Me'raj Khaled, the former speaker of the National Parliament of Pakistan: "If the Persian language is not strengthened in Pakistan, the spiritual culture of our nation shall suffer stagnation." (ETTELA'AT, 20/2/68 [10 May 1989]).

B. Dr. Akram Shah, chairman of the Persian Language Department of Punjab University and secretary general of the Persian Association of Pakistan: " 'Allameh Iqbal always emphasized that if it were necessary to choose a language, the Pakistani nation would prefer to speak Persian, because it is the spiritual language of its ancestors."

6. 'Allameh Iqbal Lahuri: The cause of God is one in its claim and in its proof. Our tents are separate, but our hearts are one. We are from Arabia, China and Iran. We are the dew of one smiling morning. [poem by Iqbal]

7. ETTELA'AT, 19/8/69 [10 November 1990].

8. The Sunnis in Pakistan mainly consist of the two groups of Brauvi and Deobandi. Because of ideological and political inclinations, the first group, which includes the majority (80 percent) of the Sunnis, holds views close to those of the Islamic Republic. The Brauvi Sunni Muslims, contrary to the Deobandis, are Wahabis and especially respect the infallible Imams and pilgrimage to the holy shrines.

9. The singular presence of Mr. Gholam Eshaq Khan, the president of Pakistan, in the funeral procession of the Imam on Khordad 1368 [22 May-21 June 1989], and before that the magnificent and unprecedented welcome in 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] of Ayatollah Khamene'i (during his presidency), verify the friendly and very profound relations between the two countries. This relationship has caused problems in the implementation of theories such as Brezhenski's "crisis in the crescent," which was designed to contain the Islamic revolution. Brezhenski, the former U.S. national security adviser, has a particular theory in connection with the southern part of the Soviet borders on which basis he believed that the countries that made up the crisis region of the crescent, that is, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey, must be the special concern of the decisionmakers of U.S. foreign policy for the U.S. security belt to be tied around the Soviet Union. Brezhenski believed that Pakistan and Turkey were not stable and Iran, which is located in the center of the crescent, with the overthrow of the regime of the Shah, had gained the potential and energy to create problems for those two countries. Hence, if a wall were to be built around the Soviet Union, this wall must be built around Iran, because the actual danger from now on is the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Indian nightmare and Soviet power are from now on only potential threats to Pakistan and Turkey. (KEYHAN, 22/01/69 [12 April 1990]).

Contrary to this theory, in the eight years of the imposed war of Iraq against Iran, Pakistan preserved its neutrality and sometimes supported the Islamic Republic of Iran.

10. Mofti is the highest religious rank in Pakistan, and this title is given to the highest ranked sources of emulation.

11. General Zia-ul-Haq, the military ruler of Pakistan at the time, sensing the danger of the influence of the Islamic revolution among the Pakistani people, on 12 Rabi' I 1400 [30 January 1980], said explicitly: "Our program is to have Hanafi jurisprudence rule the country as a guide to our actions."

The announcement of this statement angered the alert Shi'as who had been affected by the Islamic revolution in Iran, which ultimately resulted in the gathering at Behkar, the creation of TNFJ and the election of 'Allameh Ja'far Hoseyn as the leader of the movement.

12. Martyr 'Allameh 'Aref Hoseyn al-Hoseyni: "The Islamic revolution (of Iran) has had a significant effect on the lives of the people (of Pakistan). For example, in Pakistan, the young people did not previously have much interest in religion. But since the victory of the Islamic revolution, the mosques have become filled with young people worshipping and praying. The girls in Pakistan, who paid no attention to veiling previously, observe veiling today under the influence of the Islamic revolution and propagate it. Also, in other issues, the people of Pakistan have turned away from the East and the West and have become accustomed to Islam and take their ideas from Islam.

"Now they (the young people in Pakistan, both Shi'as and Sunnis) are certain that only Islam can be a means to victory and success.

"The Islamic revolution of Iran has destroyed this false thesis that in order to survive, countries must either lean towards the United States or the Soviet Union. This revolution has proven the fact that nations opposing and fighting both superpowers can stay alive under the protection of Islam."

13. After his primary and secondary education, Martyr 'Aref Hoseyni received his diploma in 1343 [21 March 1964-20 March 1965] and then went to the Ja'fariyeh School in the city of his birth (Parachenar) and reached the Sath level in a short time. To continue his studies, he was then sent to the Noble Najaf Seminary. In 1353 [21 March 1974-20 March 1975], after his expulsion from Iraq by the Ba'thist rulers, he went to the Qom Seminary to continue his studies. He taught and studied at Qom Seminary until 1357 [21 March 1978-20 March 1979] when he was summoned and expelled from Iran by the SAVAK. After his expulsion, he returned to the city of his birth. At the beginning of the Islamic revolution in Iran, Martyr 'Aref Hoseyni proclaimed His Holiness the Imam to the people of Pakistan as the Guardian of the Muslim Cause [Vali-ye Amr-e Musalmanan] and the leader of the Muslim world. His efforts caused the

pseudo-pious and fossilized clergy to oppose him and to say false and baseless things about him. They said such things as, how is it possible for a Shi'a to rise up and speak out against the only Shi'a nation (Iran) and the only Shi'a king (Mohammad Reza Shah)? Despite this opposition, Martyr 'Aref Hoseyni continued with full determination on his way, and he constantly sought to publish the exalted thoughts of the leader of the oppressed people of the world, to the point that he organized a 200-km march in support of the Iranian Islamic movement, moving towards Peshawar along with several thousand people from Parachenar (the city of his birth). At Peshawar he organized a great gathering where he declared support for His Holiness the Imam and the Islamic revolution. He had quite a major role in aligning the people of Pakistan with the Islamic revolution and its exalted leader, and he constantly called upon the people to follow the Imam and support the Islamic revolution. To thwart the plots of America and its submissive agents, he worked with absolute determination to put the unity of Muslims at the top of his agenda, and for this purpose he made great efforts to hold unity seminars attended by Shi'a and Sunni clergy, and joint conferences.

14. Hamed 'Alinhab Musavi, also known as Mowlana Hamed al-Musavi, does not believe in religious intervention in politics.

15. In Pakistan, the Movement for Implementing Ja'fari Religious Jurisprudence is called Tehrik-i Nifaz-i Fiqh-i Jafria or TNFJ.

16. The Imamia Student Organization (ISO) was founded in 1972 and its goal is to establish greater solidarity and harmony among Shi'a students. This organization, which was initially a social guild organization, acquired political leanings after the triumph of the Islamic revolution, so that this organization's activities promoting the Islamic revolution in the universities has so far been significant. The organization's slogan is "Hayya ala Khayr-ol Amal" [come to good action], and it has 14 centers and 600 units throughout Pakistan. The organization's headquarters is in Lahore.

17. The IRNA, 8/19/1368 [10 November 1989].

18. The newspaper ETTELA'AT, 9/21/1368 [12 December 1989].

19. In addition to this instance, a mosque was built known as the "Jamaran Mosque" in the city of Bangrsh in the Frontier Province after the triumph of the Islamic revolution.

20. These remarks were made before the death of His Holiness the Imam (may God have mercy on him).

Bibliography

1. IRNA reports from telex machines.

2. Tavakkoli-Kermani, Hamid. *Imam Khomeyni va Hefz-e Armanha* (Iman Khomeyni and Preservation of Ideals), Khordad 1369 [22 May - 21 June 1990].

3. Tavakkoli-Kermani, Hamid. "Reassessment of the Role of Pakistan in the Security of the Region," JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, 3398, 12/2/1369 [22 February 1991].

4. Tavakkoli-Kermani, Hamid. *Pakistan Shenasi* (The Study of Pakistan), Bahman 1369 [21 January - 19 February 1991].

5. Tavakkoli-Kermani, Hamid. "Avamel-e Moasser Bar Qodrat va Siasat Az Didgah-e Imam Khomeyni," ORGAN-E JAHAD-E DANESHGAHI, Inqelab University, Issue of Tir and Mordad 1369 [22 June - 22 August 1990].

6. Various issues of ETTELA'AT.

7. Various issues of KEYHAN.

8. *Zendeginameh 'Allameh Shahid Seyyed 'Aref-e Hoseyn al-Hoseyni* (The Life of 'Allameh Shahid Seyyed 'Aref-e Hoseyn al-Hoseyni), Shahed Publishers, Shahid al-Hoseyni Institute, Qom, Tehran: Khordad 1369 [22 May - 21 June 1990]).

9. Safi, Qasem. *Safarnameh Pakistan* (Pakistan Travel Diary), 1st printing, Kalimeh Publishers, Tehran, Bahman 1366 [21 January - 19 February 1988].

10. Reports, documents, and papers in the archives of the Foreign Ministry, Volume XI.

11. A report on TNFJ. Cultural House of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Lahore, 1366 - 1367 [21 March 1987 - 20 March 1989].

12. Interviews with TNFJ leaders and insiders in Pakistan.